

# AUGUSTA HISTORICAL BULLETIN



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NOTICE OF MEETING

# AUGUSTA HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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A purpose of the Augusta County Historical Society is to publish *Augusta Historical Bulletin* to be sent without charge to all members. Single issues are available at \$3.00 per copy.

The membership of the society is composed of annual and life members who pay the following dues:

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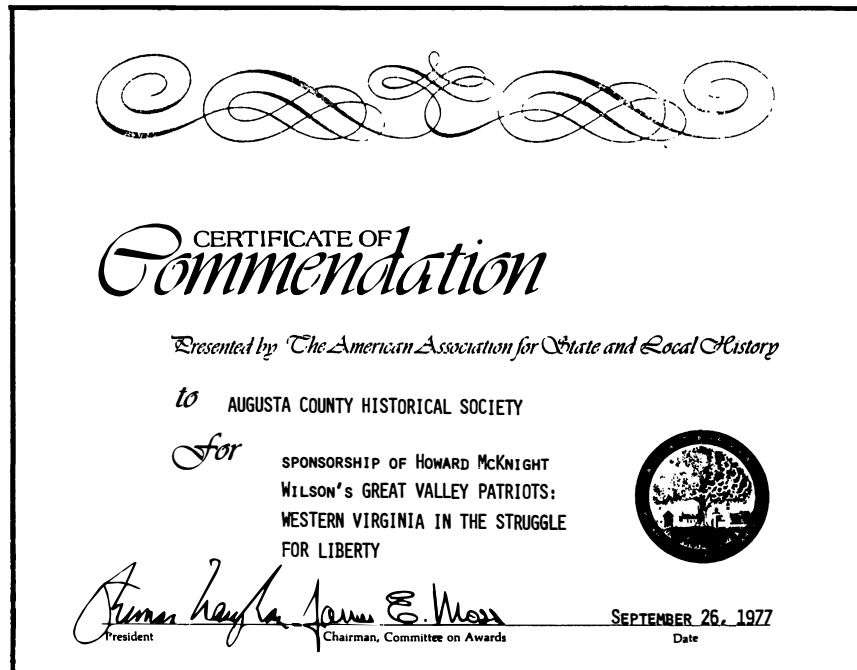
## COLONEL JOHN SMITH (1701-1783)

### Unsung Hero of Virginia Colonial Frontier

Gordon Aronhime

We have it on the best authority imaginable that Colonel John Smith was born in the year 1701, for this is stated in court sixty-five years after the event.<sup>1</sup> Where he was born is another matter. A secondary work not noted for scholarship states boldly that he was born in England of English parents and moved to Ireland before coming to America, but when one need not document it is not necessary to be accurate for paper never protests. Where he may have been born is not known to this compiler of data on the illustrious subject, but, again from a sworn statement in court, we know he did live in Ireland and sailed from there to America, landing in Philadelphia. He had with him on this voyage his wife, Margaret, and their five sons, listed in order of age from oldest to youngest — Abraham, Henry, Daniel, John, and Joseph.<sup>2</sup> The importation order does not state the date of arrival, but it is likely that the date was about 1730-32.

The secondary work referred to above tells of the exploits of John Smith in another County of Virginia prior to his coming to the West, but again let it be said that paper is not concerned with what is written on it and whether one John Smith may not be mistaken for another, this being the two most common names in the categories. So, wherever John Smith and his wife Margaret with their five boys may have first lived, they were certainly in what is today Augusta County, Virginia before the year 1738. The importation order was issued by Orange County in late June of 1740 but it must be recalled that all orders for Augusta County between its creation in 1738 and its organization on 9 December 1745 were issued by Orange County.<sup>3</sup> At least one son appears to have been born to the couple between their arrival in America and the year 1741 when the records seem to catch up with them, and his name must have been Patrick. In Augusta County proper, three more children were born and they were baptized at the Tinkling Spring Church — David on 19 July 1741, Jonathan on 22 July 1744, and Louvisa or Louisa, the only daughter apparently, on 6 October 1745. A son, James, was born after the Smiths moved to what is now Botetourt County not too long after



*Raymond F. Pisney, representing the American Association for State and Local History, presented this award of commendation to the society. Mr. Pisney is Executive Director of the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation.*

FALL MEETING, NOVEMBER 9, 1977

The Augusta County Historical Society enjoyed a program presented by Calder Loth, Senior Architectural Historian of the Virginia Landmarks Commission, on the Gothic architecture in Virginia. Mr. Loth emphasized in a slide presentation the Gothic architecture in the Shenandoah Valley.

the birth of their daughter.<sup>4</sup> Thus, it will be seen that there were nine sons, James apparently the last child, and the one daughter who became the wife of Rees Bowen, later killed at King's Mountain Battle.

Shortly after his arrival on the frontier, about 1738, John Smith, with five other partners including the noted Colonel James Patton, who assumed control of the venture, buying out all partners save Smith and Zachariah Lewis, were granted a patent for 100,000 acres on the waters of the James and Roanoke Rivers. These were lands on the far ends of the earth then and this appears to be perhaps the first blanket grant that could be surveyed piecemeal and not in one huge tract, such as the Beverley Manor. Smith was put in charge of selling and surveying the land and was to receive for this, in addition to his sixth part of the profits, ten percent for his work. He got nothing and many years later, in May, 1767, filed a bill for a suit which came to Augusta County Court for judgment in November, 1770 when Colonel Smith was 69 years old. He remained in that work for ten years.<sup>5</sup>

One of the most interesting things to speculate about on Colonel Smith is where he lived in the early years. He did not live in either Borden's Grant or in Beverley Manor but seems to have lived just north and slightly west of the latter. He owned several tracts but dates of land patents, as is well known to anyone studying frontier land situations, are not accurate indications of dates of settlement. As indicated above, he did not live, as did many of his friends and associates, in Beverley Manor or the Borden Grant, but seems to have lived just above the northwest edge of the former. The matter is further complicated by the fact that John Smith, Jr., his son, had deeds for lands that were only separable from the Colonel's own by later transactions long after John, Jr. was killed. For Colonel Smith, one tract, and probably the site of his home, was on the south fork of the north river of Shenandoah, adjacent to the line of Colonel James Wood's property. This was patented to John Smith (1701-1783) on 25 June 1747 and he sold it to Silas Hart on 5 June 1749, with Margaret Smith signing a release for her dower interest in the land.<sup>6</sup> That this was his actual residence is supported by a petition of 1749 which requests that the inhabitants of the south fork of the south branches of "Pattomuck" who "are very discommoded for want of a road to market and to court on occasion, but especially to market." The petition further states that the petitioners "have found a very good way for a road: Beginning at John Patton's

and over the mountain to Captain John Smith's." They beg for a bridle road to court. Among the signers of this petition are Colonel John Smith, his sons Abraham, Daniel, Henry, and John, Jr., which indicates that the family lived in a cluster, as was customary in that day.<sup>7</sup> John, Jr. had purchased his land from that same Silas Hart who bought the elder Smith's land in 1749.<sup>8</sup> John, Jr. willed this land to his nephew John, son of Daniel Smith as indicated in note 8 above. The elder John Smith also had a tract of land on Moffet's Branch of Cathey's River which had been patented to him on 10 February 1748 and which he sold to William Matthews, a weaver, on 28 November 1749. But, it is very unlikely that he lived on the land on Moffett's Branch, but instead occupied the land he first mortgaged and then sold to Silas Hart.<sup>9</sup>

The conditions that give this as fact are many. First, the land sold to Silas Hart would have to be the one mentioned as his home in the 1749 petition. Then, John Smith is witness to various deeds in Augusta County dated 8 February, 18 and 19 June, 1746.<sup>10</sup> He is also mentioned in a suit found in County Court Judgments for what is shown as February, 1745 but is really 1746, for in the years prior to 1752, English colonists, like Englishmen world over, used the old calendar which changed year on 25 March instead of the 1st of January. This is the second listed suits after the County Court Judgments of Augusta began and it comes to the court again in both April and June of 1746 when the suit is reversed and the plaintiff and defendant swap positions. In this double suit, the two principals are Colonel Smith and George Breckenridge, and Captain Smith's neighbor was Robert Breckenridge, brother of George.<sup>11</sup> This suit for non-performance stems from 1742. On 25 February 1746 (the real date), a man named Alexander Brownlee of Donigall, Lancaster County, Pa., brought suit against Colonel John Smith over his having failed to make good the title for 400 acres of land on a branch of North River. The bond for this was dated 9 June 1739, proving that Colonel Smith was in the area of the Hart land then and active in disposal of tracts of land. The suit refers to him as John Smith of Orange County, and such he was since Augusta had not then been organized.<sup>12</sup> On 27 February 1749 (really 1750), along with Colonels James Patton and John Buchanan, Smith was one of the vestrymen to receive the deed for 200 acres in Beverly Manor for the Glebe.<sup>13</sup>

As noted above, Colonel Smith acted as agent for Colonel

Patton and the others in the attempt to dispose of the 100,000 acres that had been granted them on branches of the James and Roanoke Rivers. To better protect those interests, no doubt, Colonel Smith moved about this time to a location on the James River where he was to live for the over thirty years that remained of his life. This move was of great importance, for it led to Colonel Smith's captivity, it led also to the marriage of his only daughter, and it led to the circumstance mentioned at the outset of this monograph which gave us the actual date of birth of this great man of the frontier. His decision to move also indicates his connection with the sale of lands already referred to. Prior to his move to the James, Colonel Smith made what seems to have been the first of his encounters with credit that were to complicate his life so terribly later on. On 1 January 1746, he gave a note to Patrick Dowell for £1 which he promised to pay on order or demand to William Hughes and, in due time, the claim was presented.<sup>14</sup>

Some have contended that Colonel Smith first moved to the site of Roanoke. This is undoubtedly mistaken, though he did indeed own a tract of 400 acres in what is today the central part of Roanoke City. He sold this land, listed as "The Great Lick" to Malcolm Campbell on 21 November 1759.<sup>15</sup> The earliest known acquisition of land on the James was for 500 acres on 16 March 1748 in the forks adjacent to Joseph Walker and James Mills on Cedar Creek (this is the creek that flows through Natural Bridge).<sup>16</sup> The same reference lists another survey "adjacent to his former survey in the forks of 390 acres" which was surveyed on 20 March 1751. This gave the owner a total of 890 acres on the James and he took up two more tracts, one of 120 acres and another of 75 acres, the first on the north side and the second on the south side of the James. These two were surveyed on the 30th and 13th of June 1753.<sup>17</sup>

Like most men of his day, Colonel Smith acquired more land than he could manage. As one present-day history student remarked, "those people used land like we do money and sometimes as foolishly." On 28 November 1751, he bought the first of two tracts from Colonel James Patton on Craig's Creek, buying the second tract on 17 May 1753. The first was for 195 acres and the second for 213 acres. These lands were to figure, along with the surveyed land already mentioned in tragic importance fifteen years later, as will be seen. The 408 acres on Craig's Creek were located near the mouth of that stream.<sup>18</sup> So, before 1750, Colonel

Smith, then still a captain, settled on and near the site of the present town of Buchanan, Virginia. His neighbors were distinguished and figured largely in his later life. To the west lived the Looneys — a family not badly named, if one considers the drunken rages of the elder Looney and the subsequent family legal tangles, as will be shown since Colonel Smith figured largely in these. The Looneys lived at the mouth of Looney's Mill Creek, where they kept both a mill and a ferry. One, Henry, lived on an island in the river there. To the east lived one of the best known, if not one of the most distinguished, men of the frontier of that day, Colonel John Buchanan, son-in-law of Colonel Patton. Colonel Buchanan was a man who did many things and did them all very badly. Even his many surveys, made between 1745 and 1750, were called into question as to legality since he was never certified as an authorized surveyor.<sup>19</sup> Up the river a short distance there lived a family that were to have a lasting influence on the fame of Colonel John Smith. This was the large, energetic, and influential family of John and Lily Bowen, whose son, Rees, was to marry the only Smith daughter.

The first years on the James at the site of Buchanan were peaceful and quiet and maybe the finest John Smith was to ever to enjoy and certainly the most harmonious of his long life. During this interval, he was surety with Robert Looney for Elizabeth, widow of George Barber.<sup>20</sup> On 15 November 1752, he qualified as both a "major of the foot and as Coroner."<sup>21</sup> It is very likely that he really was only a deputy coroner and it should be definitely understood that a "major of the foot" is an infantry major, as opposed to a "major of the horse," or cavalry major. He served as a witness to a deed on Craig's Creek on 21 November 1753.<sup>22</sup> As noted above, the month of June, 1753 gave him two tracts of land on the James adjacent to his two surveys totaling 890 acres.

After witnessing the above cited deed in November, 1753, the records are silent about Colonel Smith except for one transaction. This deals with his neighbors, the Looneys. In either 1753 or 1754 — ten years later when he became the star witness in the numerous lawsuits that arose from this drunken act of old Robert Looney, Colonel Smith could not be sure which was the correct year — he was sent for by his neighbors, the Looney family. Old Robert had a numerous family of grown and married sons and, in either 1753 or 1754, his son Absolom agreed to come back home to live, he made an agreement with a couple of his

other sons, Daniel and Peter. Robert claimed later he had been drunk when this agreement was made and that Daniel's title to his brother Absalom was no good. This dispute gave rise to a brace of suits over this land which had been laid off by Colonels John Smith and John Buchanan, the nearest neighbors. The suits became increasingly vehement, as will be noted in chronological order.<sup>23</sup> About the time of the events at the Looney household that later gave rise to the suits, the peaceful years came to an end for Colonel Smith and the French and Indian War broke out in full fury.

PART TWO     The Tragic Years (1755-1770)  
Section A     The War Years (1755-1763)

From 1755 to 1763, Colonel Smith was struck repeatedly by severe tragedy even though he may not have felt the severity of these years since they were tempered by the excitement of war which has always exhilarated men and caused them to submerge their personal tragedy to the excitement of the fray. We first hear of them in this period from the correspondence of Governor Dinwiddie. The Governor wrote that a company of forty men was to be raised by Captain Smith. Note that although Smith had already been appointed a major of infantry, he served as a captain until his capture in 1756. This letter of the Governor was written in early August and on the eleventh of that same month and year, 1755, Dinwiddie wrote Major John Smith (he so addressed the letter) in which he stated "Colonel Patton had my positive orders to appoint you commander of the company of rangers raised in your county, how he came not to obey it, I know not, however, you may raise forty men which, with the company commanded by Captain (William) Preston and a company from Lunenburg (County) of fifty men that have orders to march immediately to your assistance, I conceive will be sufficient to scour the woods of the enemy and encourage your people to return to their plantations, and then I think you will not want the militia." Of course, Colonel Patton had been killed by the Indians the 30th of July before, or nearly two weeks before these letters had been written and at a distance of more than sixty miles to the west of where Colonel Smith lived. At the same time, he wrote to Major Andrew Lewis, appointed County Lieutenant in the place of Colonel Patton later on, that "Captain

Preston and Captain Smith are to be at no place." This meant they were not to be garrisoned, but to serve as "rangers."<sup>1</sup>

But the principal letter of this time is from Governor Dinwiddie to Captains Smith and Preston jointly, dated 15 December 1755. In this, he mentions that the Cherokees have offered 130 men to aid on an expedition to the enemy (that is, the Shawnees) and suggests the organization of an expedition under the command of Captain John Smith. He points out that Captain Smith has already been sent seventy barrels of corn which would be more than enough for such a campaign.<sup>2</sup> However, this did not materialize, but instead turned into another expedition which stood out as the first of Captain Smith's many misfortunes.

The expedition that did come about was called The Sandy Creek Expedition and it is one of the most tragic campaigns of the history of the Virginia frontier. Companies were commanded by Captains Hogg, Smith, Woodson, Preston, and others on this unfortunate expedition. In the correspondence, Captains Smith and Woodson are spoken of as being "old woodsmen." The troops were to meet at Dunkard's Bottom, near the present site of Radford, with Major Andrew Lewis to be in command. There is an account of this for those who want to read of a tragic campaign that was badly planned, executed even worse, with no enemy to fight other than starvation, stupidity, and meaningless action. This is contained in the Journal of William Preston, a captain on the campaign. They went by way of what was then called the Bear Garden and into what is still called Burke's Garden. In 1756, the latter had been emptied of all settlers and the troops dug potatoes left by the hastily departed settlers. They then crossed Tazewell county as it is today and continued down Sandy Creek. By March 10th, most of the men had deserted. Only a decimated remnant of the group that started off so proudly came back.<sup>3</sup> Over two years later, on 23 September 1758, Captain Smith had to defend his good name against the charge of desertion that had been lodged against him during his captivity in Canada. He was cleared of this and all his pay was restored by the House of Burgesses in 1758.<sup>4</sup>

The next adventure was the greatest ordeal of Colonel Smith's life. On his return from the Sandy Creek Expedition, Colonel Smith, as instructed, took some of his soldiers to Vause's Fort. This was a private fort newly built by Ephraim Vause and was the westernmost and southernmost of all the frontier



forts. The fort was located just to the west of the present village of Shawsville, Virginia and just south of present U. S. 11. It enclosed the home of Ephraim Vause. The events that led to and included the capture of Fort Vause are superbly documented.

Over a week before the attack on Fort Vause, the Indians, with French command, began a reconnaissance of the section. The details are furnished in a letter written by Colonel William Preston to an unknown correspondent, an autograph draft of which Preston kept and which is in the great Draper manuscript collection in Madison, Wisconsin. Colonel Preston wrote that on 16th June a small party of Indians appeared at Fort Vause but there were only four or five men in the fort so they could not come out to attack the Indians. The savages then captured a settler at about two miles from the Fort and took him prisoner to a camp in a mountain gap west of the New River. They detained him three days and questioned him very carefully since one of the Indians spoke English. The settler was told that they had decided to destroy both the forts of Preston and Vause. No attack was made right away. Instead, on the 19th, they brought the prisoner to Evan Neill's home where they proceeded to kill three hogs for their group and to wash their tomahawks. While they engaged in this activity, the prisoner grabbed a horse and a gun and escaped. He came to the home of William Preston and gave his testimony under oath. Meanwhile, on the 22nd, Preston had discharged his company in conformity with the Governor's orders. Shortly after this, he received an express (that is a special messenger) from Captain John Smith that the Indians had appeared at Fort Vause and that he was afraid of being attacked and his garrison consisted of only eight or ten men. Preston was unable to comply with this appeal for aid since he had just dismissed his company. But, alarmed at the seriousness of the situation and the isolated position of those fortified at Vause's, he began to gather volunteers and on the 25th had gathered 18 of his own men and 29 other militiamen of the area and set off toward Fort Vause.

It should be remembered that Colonel Preston was not then married and we are not sure of where he lived. Some have suggested that he lived on Buffalo Creek at the home that came later to be known as Greenfield and this is probably correct. This home is located northwest of present day Roanoke and would have been about 60 miles from Fort Vause. About three in the afternoon, he was within three or four miles of Vause's

when the group met a servant of Vause. This man told them that he had been about two miles from the fort when he heard it was being attacked by a large number of Indians. Six men with him at the time were armed and hastened toward the fort. The militiamen outstripped the servant who, when he neared the fort, saw the six firing at the Indians, so he watched the fray. The fort had been attacked by what he described as "a large number of Indians" about ten that morning. The account continued that the "Indians sett the fort on Fire & some Cabbins joining it, and that the house where Captain Smith with Vause's Family were in was not burned untill 4 in the afternoon." The next morning they went to the place and saw "the houses, Fort, etc. in ashes and about one hour before we met the servant man he had been among the Ruins & see (sic!) part of a Human Body which had been burned, & it is generally Believed that all the men in the Fort—but seven in number—" (this refers to the armed militiamen, not the civilians there) "were killed and burned, there is 24 persons killed and missing."<sup>4</sup> Major Andrew Lewis wrote to Governor Dinwiddie soon after the event that "Captain Vause has been a very great Sufferer by the late unhappy affair, his Wife & two Daughters, two servants & one Negro, all either killed or taken Prisoners, his Fort, raised at his own expense, and Barn with the other buildings on his Plantation Burned to Ashes and above eighty heads of Cattle & horses killed and carried away."<sup>5</sup>

In the holocaust of the surrender of the Fort on 25 June 1756, Captain Vause was not the only sufferer. Everyone in the fort was either killed or captured. A few escaped and some went into Canada in captivity and died there. Captain Smith's family were major sufferers. His son, John, Jr., a lieutenant under him, was brought before him and brutally murdered before his eyes. His other son, Joseph, a soldier, was taken into captivity with Captain Smith, and Joseph died there. A few months earlier, in March, on the New River, another son, Patrick, was killed by the Indians.<sup>6</sup> Among the prisoners in Fort Vause, in addition to the Vauses and Smiths, there was Peter Looney, a soldier, son of Smith's neighbor old Robert Looney. Though taken prisoner, Peter escaped, but the event shortened his life, for he died before November, 1760, leaving a widow, Margaret who later married James McCain. It is interesting that Jonathan Smith, brother of Louvisa Smith Bowen, was guardian of this Peter Looney's young son, Peter, Jr.<sup>7</sup>



Captain John Smith was not fortunate enough to have escaped. Instead, he was to begin one of the most amazing episodes in his long and extremely interesting life, as will be seen. To use his very words in his Memorial to the House of Burgesses on 3 April 1758, he had been in Fort Vause, or "Vauss", as he put it, "with a small party, was attacked by the enemy, which, after having defended it till he had but three men left, he was at length obliged to surrender." He went on to relate in this same Memorial how "the Enemy then most inhumanly murdered his eldest son" (he really meant the elder of the two sons who were with him in the fort—Joseph, the other, being younger than John, the slain son) "before his face, and carried him prisoner to the Shawnese Towns and French Forts, and from thence to Quebec . . ." He told further how he was there "put on board a Cartel ship and carried to England."<sup>8</sup> It might be noted that a "Cartel ship" was one which was used between warring nations, under a flag of truce, to transfer prisoners from one nation to another. This definition of the word "cartel" is today found more in dictionaries than in the mouths of men, but it is quite correct.

His memorial continued to relate his interesting experiences. Again to quote: "That while he was in England he had the honor to be introduced to Mr. Secretary Pitt, to whom he communicated his observations, who highly approved his scheme, and recommended him to Lord Loudon to encourage and promote such an enterprise." The observations he referred to in this statement were that he had carefully noted the Indian Towns and the French forts on the way to Quebec and he believed he could lead "a small party of men, about 800, . . . if properly conducted . . . (could) easily destroy those Indian Towns and perhaps some of the French Forts." Mr. Secretary Pitt referred to above was the true, if not the actual, Prime Minister of England of the time, though he then held only the post of Secretary of State and was not created Prime Minister until ten years later.<sup>9</sup> The Earl of Loudon was "that pompous wind-bag," as a noted American Historian has called him, who was responsible for the military failures in America of Britain, he then serving as the commander of British forces in North America.<sup>10</sup> The Memorial further stated that "he has lost three sons and a great part of his fortune in the service of his country, and that being still ready and zealous for his Majesty's Service, and well acquainted with the Route necessary to be

taken to distress the Enemy in those parts, he humbly offers himself to undertake such an Expedition if it could be approved of."<sup>11</sup>

Alt hough the expedition was never implemented, the Memorial did accomplish something, for Smith was soon made a full Colonel in Augusta, to which county, of course, he had returned. By the same order, William Preston was made a Major, the order being dated 17 November 1758.<sup>12</sup> The next day after his Memorial, he presented the House of Burgesses with a claim in which he stated that "in the year 1755 he was appointed Captain of a company of rangers and continued in the service until he was made a prisoner in 1756; and that he expended large sums of his own money in purchasing provisions and other necessities for his company, but being taken prisoner, had no opportunity of applying to have his accounts settled until this time."<sup>13</sup> Eight days after this, the House issued its response: "The committee to whom this petition was referred reported that the said John Smith *was* appointed a Captain of a company of Rangers by commission bearing date of 25th of May 1756, and taken prisoner the 25th of June following at Vause's Fort, that he had several of his own guns there, which were made use of in defence of the fort, an horse employed in going to mill, a mare which he rode thither a few days before, and several other things, all which were taken by the enemy in the reduction of the fort and that he has but lately returned from his captivity." They concluded that he ought to be allowed the sum of £15, 10 shillings, at the rate of ten shillings a day for his pay as Captain from the date of commission to the date of capture. They further allowed him the sum of £100 for his material things used in the defense of the fort and "as a reward for his bravery in the defence thereof."<sup>14</sup> In the 1758 Journals of the House of Burgesses, John Smith was allowed 13 shillings as pay for service as major, £9, 12 shillings, 6 pence for a horse "impressed and killed and hire of another horse." They appropriated £576, 18 shillings to Gabriel Jones, a noted area attorney, and Dr. Thomas Walker for a company's muster roll under Captain John Smith ending on 25 June 1756. To Captain Smith, they allowed £20, 15 shillings for "the balance of his pay and his son's pay as lieutenant of the same company." For his account of "provisions and horse hire, and for enlisting soldiers," they paid Smith

£199 and he also received another £75 which was listed simply as "for provisions."<sup>15</sup>

One interesting sidelight on Colonel Smith's capture and the subsequent distress of his family is that Margaret, his wife, was awarded £20 for the relief of herself and her minor children. It should not be forgotten that while the Colonel was in captivity, Margaret still had at home three minor children—Jonathan, 14, Louvisa, 13, and James, then only a small child. This money was appropriated by the legislature in May, 1757 but was not paid until 12 January 1758 when William Preston, to whom it was paid for Margaret Smith, rode over with his sister Mary to deliver the money. This payment, like others, was duly noted in a very full little notebook he kept for this purpose in 1756-1759 and which has fortunately been preserved in the great Draper collection in Wisconsin. The signature of Mrs. Smith is a boldly written one reading "Margret (sic!) Smith."<sup>16</sup>

The most vital and interesting fact revealed by the Journals of the House of Burgesses is in their payment to Captain John Smith, not acted on until 1763, for his pay as a prisoner.<sup>17</sup> The amount appropriated by the House was £83, 13 shillings, 9 pence. This, even to the fraction of a day indicates that the Colonel was a prisoner for 158 days. From this, one can see that apparently Colonel Smith remained a prisoner until either the 9th or 10th of December in 1756. This would undoubtedly represent the day he was sent on the "Cartel" ship from Quebec and not the date of his arrival in England. If, however, the date of cessation of captivity was the arrival in England, he must have been put on shipboard in Quebec in early November and not early December. The arrival in England would ordinarily have been a month after the embarkment from Canada. Thus, it was probably in January, 1758 that he met William Pitt The Elder. It should be carefully noted that Colonel Smith, unlike most prisoners of the period—for all were harshly treated—did not spend his time in self-pity, but carefully made notes of the extent of the garrisons in the forts and Indian Towns to which he had been taken. These were quite useful to the British later.

The will of his son, John, who had been so inhumanly killed, as he had put it, before his very eyes at Fort Vause, was dated 22 January 1756 and probated on 18 August 1756 while Colonel Smith was in captivity. Colonel Smith is not

mentioned in his son's will.<sup>18</sup> The will was difficult to probate, for the witnesses except for one, had been captured by the enemy or killed but the court decided they knew the signatures of the witnesses and the testator well enough and, although held over for a further court, it was probated. The son's estate consisted largely of the tract of land mentioned earlier in this monograph which John, Jr. had bought from Silas Hart. He willed this land to his nephew, the son named John of his brother Daniel Smith. Aside from this tract, the bulk of the estate was in horses. The date of the appraisement was 16 June 1757.<sup>19</sup>

During the captivity of Colonel Smith, the county court appointed a conservator for his estate. The noted merchant, Israel Christian, father of Colonel William Christian and father-in-law of Colonel William Fleming, was so designated by an order of the Augusta court of 18 November 1757. It is interesting that the court quite correctly and naturally first appointed Abraham, Captain Smith's eldest son, to administer the estate while his father was "a prisoner in the French Dominions" and when he refused to comply, they then appointed Israel Christian, who, as the court noted, was a creditor, to administer the estate in the absence of John Smith. On that same day, Christian gave bond with Charles Campbell (father of Colonel William) and Abraham Smith as securities.<sup>20</sup> It should not be considered that Abraham Smith had acted arbitrarily for he was then much engaged in the defense of the frontiers and did not live quite near enough to his parents at that time. Earlier, on 17 June 1757, he had not appeared though he was one of the executors, when his brother John's will was presented in court for probate, though he did send a message he would not be able to serve. On 17 November 1757, only a day before he refused to serve as administrator of his father's estate during the captivity, he appeared in court and renounced any rights or claims to the estate of his brother under the terms of the will. Also, as noted, he served as security for Captain Christian to administer the estate of his father during the period of capture. These were stringent times and one could do only so much with justice to the tasks involved.<sup>21</sup> That Israel Christian, a merchant, would have been a creditor of John Smith's during his captivity is easily explained by Colonel Smith's own statement already given above in this monograph in his Memorial to the House of Burgesses and its reply by committee that he had indeed

spent his own money and extended his own credit in the purchase of supplies for his troops.<sup>22</sup>

The time of Colonel Smith's return from captivity is not known. One may only make a shrewd guess from the few facts that relate to the events of the period. Colonel Preston paid Margaret Smith her £20 subsistence money during the captivity of her husband on 12 January 1758. It is not likely that Colonel Smith had then returned or the money would have been either paid to him or at least he would have signed as witness instead of Colonel Preston's sister, Mary, who was the actual witness to the payment. We know from the records of the House of Burgesses that John Smith began presenting his petitions and memorials on 3 April 1758, so he must have returned to his home on the James river about late February or early March of 1758. Certainly the date had thus to be between 12 January and 3 April 1758.<sup>23</sup> In three other events we hear of Colonel Smith in 1758. On 28 June 1758, he paid to the estate of Peter Moser moneys which were owed for "provender" and for "patterole" (patrol).<sup>24</sup> But by far the most important event in the year 1758, other than his numerous petitions and the memorial to the House of Burgesses which gives so much badly needed information on the captivity, trip to England, and the timing thereof, is the order of the Augusta court of 17 November 1758 which qualifies him as a Colonel of the militia, making William Preston a major at the same time.<sup>25</sup> This monograph, to be consistent, has usually spoken of John Smith as Colonel, but from this point forward the designation is both correct and authorized. Then on 20 November 1758, only three days after becoming Colonel Smith, he had restored to him a lost honor of great consequence on the frontier. He had been, since its organization in 1745, one of the few vestrymen selected by the Parish of Augusta. On his capture, he was supplanted as vestryman of Augusta at a meeting of 23 November 1756 in which "James Archer was elected to succeed Colonel Patton deceased" and "John Matthews, Jr. elected vestryman vice Major John Smith." But, on 20 November 1758, the Parish unanimously elected him to succeed Thomas Gordon, referring to him as Colonel John Smith.<sup>26</sup>

Colonel Smith appears only six times in the existing records of the year 1759. On 8 May 1759 he and Colonel John Buchanan verified the records of the flour that had been given out and weighed at Fort Fauquier, the high-sounding name given the

little fort built at Looney's Ferry adjacent to Col. Smith and Col. Buchanan. The record of their certification of it on that day in May was preserved by Colonel Preston and is in the great Draper Collections.<sup>27</sup> It is not a matter of record where Colonels Smith and Buchanan may have been on 27 June 1759, but there exists a letter by Colonel William Preston who states that "in the absence of both Colonels Smith and Buchanan, he (Preston) orders" the drafting of men in that part of the Calf Pasture (a section of that area) where the most trouble from the Indians then existed.<sup>28</sup> On 21 November 1759, John and Margaret Smith sold their 400 acre tract on Goose Creek at the Great Lick (now the site of downtown Roanoke City) to Malcolm Campbell, whose land was adjacent to this tract and who entertained Dr. Thomas Walker on his trip through there in early 1750.<sup>29</sup> Then, on 26 and 27 November 1759, Colonel Smith was present at the meetings of the Augusta Parish as a vestryman.<sup>30</sup> These were his last such appearances as a vestryman and his last documented appearance on the historical scene before the complicated year of 1760.

The first event of any consequence in the fateful year of 1760 was neither military nor military-related. Instead, on 13 March 1760, accompanied by his wife Margaret, their son Jonathan, and most probably their young daughter, then 15, Louvisa, and along with Peter Looney who had been a sergeant in the ill-fated company at the capture of Fort Vause, and Colonel John Buchanan, he went the approximately 25 miles up river to the home of John and Lillie Bowen. The Bowens lived on the north side of the river about halfway between present day Clifton Forge and Eagle Rock, approximately on the site which was well known in recent times as the location of the Locust Bottom Church, a Presbyterian church that served the area between 1782 and 1887. The purpose for this small cavalcade of distinguished people was to attend the Bowens in the serious illness of the elder John Bowen. How the Smiths, Buchanans, and Bowens became such close friends when their homes lay so far apart is not of record, but since all three men were prominent and well off, it is natural that they should have sought each other's company. Also, since Fort Fauquier lay adjacent to the lands of Colonel Smith and had been built by Colonel Buchanan on the Looney property, it is very likely that the Bowens might have repaired there in the times of stress and Indian attack. It is well known that Louvisa, only daughter

known by record of the John Smiths married Rees Bowen, son of John and Lillie Bowen: We are not sure when the marriage occurred, but as will be noted below, it seems to have occurred about 1762, or three years after the event now under consideration. While they were there, the group, except for Louvisa, signed the will of John Bowen.<sup>31</sup> In a few days they returned to their homes downstream.

The major event in the life of Colonel Smith in 1760 was his return to active duty. Though a Colonel of the militia, he resumed the rank of Captain, at 59, of enlisted troops (that is, regulars, not militia). The occasion for this return to active duty was the formation of an expedition against the Cherokees. This is the campaign sometimes called Byrd's Cherokee Expedition, though Colonel William Byrd, III, only commanded it briefly, soon returning to Westover and his new bride, the former Anna Willing. The expedition was then commanded by Lt. Col. Adam Stephen, who was to become a major general in the Revolutionary army, who was a physician, and who laid out the town of Martinsburg, West Virginia later on. Col. Stephen, then a major general, was dismissed from the service by Washington for drunkenness at the Battle of Brandywine (no pun intended!). Colonel Smith did not lead a company on the expedition, but instead commanded a company first fortified temporarily at Fort Lewis and then permanently garrisoned at Fort Frederick at Dunkard's Bottom on the New River, below present day Radford. It had been at Fort Frederick that the troops had met for the ill-fated Sandy Creek Expedition in 1756 and when Colonel Smith came there in 1760 he was again to meet with tragedy, though this time on a financial and not human level. Many years later, when in his eightieth year, Colonel Smith stated in open court in Botetourt County on 10 March 1780, that "he served as a Captain of a company of new lines in the year 1760 under the command of Colonel Byrd on the Expedition against the Cherokees and was legally disbanded . . ."<sup>32</sup>

In the month of August, 1760, he was with his company at Fort Lewis, located in the western edge of what is today the town of Salem, Virginia. During the month he spent at Fort Lewis, there arose a suit later on which employed Colonel Smith as a key witness. Two merchants had come there from Bedford County following the troops and Smith testified in court later on that he had been witness to an agreement between them—

Joseph Ray and William Chandler—that the former was to have been supplied by the latter with £100 worth of goods to be sold later on at Dunkard's Bottom. However, as Smith testified "at ye breaking up of ye campaign under Col. Byrd, then carrying on against ye Cherokees" Ray had applied to Colonel Smith and Peter Looney (who was again serving under his old neighbor as he had at Fort Vause in 1756) to become his securities for this merchandise and they agreed, but the delivery of the goods never took place. The deposition said also that "Ray might have disposed of a large quantity of goods to advantage on that campaign."<sup>33</sup> It is in connection with this suit, later on in 1766, that we have the assurance of the Augusta County Court that Colonel Smith was born in 1701.<sup>34</sup>

While at Fort Frederick in Dunkard's Bottom that September, Colonel, or Captain Smith, as he was ranked for that action, did just as he had done at Fort Vause. His troops needed supplies and clothing. He purchased both. When his cash was exhausted, he used his own credit to supply all that was needed rather than see his soldiers suffer. For his patriotism—one secondary writer has called him the Robert Morris of the Frontier—he got thrown in jail for debt later on. Several suits arose over this action of Colonel Smith and since there were ample witnesses and the defendant did not deny that he had promised to pay, he had no defense. On 28 August 1764, John Hamilton brought suit for this debt.<sup>35</sup> Earlier—in November, 1764, to be exact—a former soldier named John Kenny sued Colonel Smith for his pay as a soldier for four months under Colonel Smith's command. It is interesting that the pay for this soldier in 1760 had been £4 for four months of service.<sup>36</sup>

These suits are interesting in the attempt to solve the puzzle of how long Captain Smith served at the time of the Cherokee Expedition, for the records of that campaign are very sketchy. He seems to have been back at his home in 1761, although the Virginia Regiment in which he had served was not disbanded officially until February, 1762.<sup>37</sup> Colonel Smith appears twice in the 1761 records, first on 6 May and then again on 19 May 1761. On the earlier date, he was witness to a deed that involved Colonel John Buchanan, his neighbor. Other witnesses to that deed were David and John Looney. He then appeared in court at Staunton with Colonel Buchanan on 19 May 1761, with his son Jonathan, too, was to testify to his signature on the will of John Bowen, who had died some

time between this date and the original will date of 13 March 1760.<sup>38</sup>

There is also a receipt of this time, though the dating is obscure, for 861 pounds of beef which was listed as "for use of my company and the Cherokee Indians" but which some say dates as far back as the ill-fated Sandy Creek Expedition because of the presence of the Cherokees, but which is far more likely to have referred to the coming of the Cherokees, after the conclusion of Byrd's Expedition to Fort Frederick on their way to Williamsburg.<sup>40</sup> At any rate, there is another date in 1762 which is quite certain and this is the mortgage of two slaves and 600 acres of land on Craig's Creek adjoining the lands of Colonel James Patton to William Bowyer, a merchant of Staunton, for £100. This mortgage was paid off on 18 November 1767.<sup>39</sup>

Back in 1763, Smith was witness to a deed dated 4 February 1763 from John Thompson to Henry Ferguson for 109 acres on Glade Creek. Along with Colonel Smith, the witnesses were a distinguished group that included Robert Breckenridge and the Colonels William Preston and John Buchanan.<sup>41</sup> Although the mortgage noted above to William Bowyer was the first, it was not the last in this troubled period of Colonel Smith's anguish over financial problems. On 9 April 1763, he mortgaged to his son Abraham for £36 a tract of 100 acres on the James River adjacent to the land of Robert Looney. It is interesting that the instrument of the mortgage reads that the mortgage is to be for five hundred years!<sup>41</sup> With this mortgage, the years of the French and Indian War close for Colonel Smith.

One very interesting and significant event took place about this time, though the actual date is not in the official records of the era. This was the marriage of his daughter (probably his only daughter) to Rees Bowen. Marriage records were not kept in those days, so one can only reconstruct the date from speculation. But, on 15 November 1762, Lillie Bowen, acting as executrix of her husband's estate, conveyed to Rees Bowen, their son, a tract of 230 acres on Glade Creek of Roanoke River for the sum of £20.<sup>42</sup> This land must have been located near the present town of Vinton just to the northeast of Roanoke City. There is every indication, though no proof that Rees, who is supposed to have been born in Maryland in, or about, 1742, moved there at this time.<sup>43</sup> Certainly he was definitely living there on 13 February 1765, for his 238 acre tract was

processioned at that time, as shown in the Augusta County Parish Book, which has been preserved.<sup>44</sup> By 1762, Louvisa, or Louisa, was seventeen, for it was noted above that she had been baptized at the Tinkling Spring Church on 6 October 1745. Long after the Rees Bowens had moved to the Clinch, in 1774, they sold this land to Thomas Blanton. The deed is interesting for it proves that Louvisa, like her mother, could do what few women and not a great many men on the frontier could—write her own name.<sup>45</sup>

## PART TWO The Tragic Years (1755-1770)

### Section B Post-War Tragedy

The first post-war months were quite peaceful for Colonel Smith. He was now permanently at home, approaching 63 years of age, and was giving his attention to farming. It is curious that this man, so prominent on the frontier, such an unsung hero, never sought public office, never belonged to the County Court (though whether this was by his choice or from never having been invited is not known), nor did he seek anything other than that by which he could serve his fellow man. Unlike Colonels Preston and Buchanan, his friends, Colonel Smith never sought to aggrandize himself in his service to his country. Instead, he almost bankrupted himself each time he served. The secondary writer referred to at the beginning of this monograph made a striking remark about Colonel Smith when he called him the Robert Morris of the frontier. It is not badly said.

On 21 March 1764, he was security with David Looney for John Griffith, administrator of the estate of Morris Griffith.<sup>1</sup> The Looneys also figured largely in the activity of Colonel Smith during 1764, for in August he gave a deposition concerning land problems among members of that family. These, as noted above, had arisen in 1753 or 1754 and Colonel Smith gave a long and full deposition of the original pact made in his own presence. These suits continued in the courts for almost two years.<sup>2</sup> Colonel Smith, along with Colonel Buchanan, figured as a witness in these transactions when they had occurred and was again an important witness in the many suits that arose therefrom.

On 28 August 1764, John Hamilton, a merchant, brought a writ against Colonel Smith that was ultimately to result in the jailing for debt of Colonel Smith. This was referred to above as having taken place in the September, 1760 encampment at Dunkard's Bottom. The long overdue bill of the merchant was presented in court with impeccable witnesses, and payment was demanded immediately. The Colonel frankly acknowledged his debt and his inability to meet it. For this frankness, he received imprisonment.<sup>3</sup>

The interesting question here is when he was imprisoned and for how long. Undoubtedly the jailing had been in the county seat, Staunton. The date can only be reconstructed from events and speculation on events enacted over two hundred years ago on a rough frontier harried by Indians and Nature in an era when paper was scarce, those who could write even scarcer and those who could read even fewer. It is likely that Smith was only imprisoned for a few months, at most, and possibly only for a few weeks, since he had many powerful friends, at least two influential sons (Daniel and Abraham) and the in-laws of his only daughter, the Bowens, were people of means and of rising note in the area.

Colonel Smith must have been jailed for debt in early September, 1765. He served as security for Isabella, widow of Abraham Biss on 21 May 1765, something he could not have done in prison.<sup>4</sup> On 31 May 1765, Robert Breckinridge wrote his kinsman, Colonel William Preston from the Breckinridge home in Staunton and asked that Preston send his compliments "to Captain Smith and his family." He would not have done this had the Colonel then been in jail for debt, which Breckinridge, in Staunton, would of course have known.<sup>5</sup> Also, the Looney suits, so prominent in the period, were held in court in May, 1765 and Colonel Smith testified freely at them in a long and interesting deposition.<sup>6</sup>

Likewise, in a suit which in abstracted form does not specify time of filing or otherwise, but which seems to have been in the summer, and which was not actually presented in court until 1773, testimony is given that George, son of Jonathan, and Jonathan Smith were in William Crow's store in Staunton and the Colonel told them each to get a suit of clothes and charge it to him. This was in 1765, presumably, as indicated, in the summer. Crow gladly accommodated, for he a scheme to defraud Colonel Smith. This came about later when the

Colonel was in prison. Crow came to him and suggested that if he would convey to Crow two tracts of land on Craig's Creek, the merchant would satisfy all the indebtedness and free him from jail. As Colonel Smith testified in court later, he executed the bond to Crow to pay off his debts, but Crow, who did pay off the debts, sold his bond to McCall and Company who later got judgment on Colonel Smith. In other words, Crow got the land for nothing and Colonel Smith, unaware of the fraud at the time, had to bring suit in 1771-1773 to recover.<sup>7</sup>

In connection with this suit, on 16 October 1765, Colonel Smith deeded to William and Thomas Crow two tracts of land on Craig's Creek, one of 195 and the other of 213 acres.<sup>8</sup> In order to have recorded this deed, Colonel Smith had to have been out of jail in mid-October, which leads one to speculate that his stay had been brief. Later, in 1767 and 1768, the Crows mortgaged these tracts to merchants from Leeds, Yorkshire and Richmond.<sup>9</sup>

Though out of prison, Colonel Smith was not out of debt, for he still had the debt that Crow had assigned to McCall and Company, though unaware of it at the time. On 10 July 1766, he made an important land entry at the mouth of Purgatory Creek. This is just across the James from the Town of Buchanan as it exists today and where the old U. S. 11 highway bridge crossed the River James a quarter century ago in 1950. It was on this 400 acre tract that the village of Pattonsburg was later built. He sold this tract to Margaret Patton Buchanan, widow of Colonel John who had died in 1769, in the year 1770.<sup>10</sup> In November, 1766, there arose the suit of Ray vs. Chandler, already fully covered in the text above and which concerned the sale but non-delivery of goods at Fort Frederick back in 1760. Colonel Smith was one of the principal witnesses and, as twice stated previously, it was in connection with the deposition he gave in this suit that we have the certification of the date of his birth.<sup>11</sup>

Colonel Smith made over to his son Jonathan some of his slaves for the sum of £90 on 28 February 1767. It is interesting that one of the witnesses to this transaction was William, brother of Rees Bowen.<sup>12</sup> In May of that year, Colonel Smith brought suit first against the executors of Colonel James Patton to try to recover the monies due him for his work in the Roanoke-James rivers grant, even though the suit did not come to judgment until November, 1770.<sup>13</sup> On 13 August 1767, he served



as a witness along with his distinguished friends, the brothers-in-law William Christian and William Fleming (the latter had married the sister of the former) in a deed from Joshua McCormick to Israel, the father of Colonel William Christian.<sup>14</sup> It was on the 18th of November of 1767 that William Bowyer surrendered the mortgage to Colonel Smith referred to above.<sup>15</sup> Another of those due bills for purchases was presented in November, 1768 by William English. This contained an "I promise to pay unto William Ingles or Cumpany" (sic) signed by John Smith and endorsed "Col. Smith to William English—Bill."<sup>16</sup> This suit stemmed from indebtedness made on 25 September 1761, so it was probably not for soldier's pay or gear. Presumably this was settled amicably and easily. It is only, save for one other act, that we hear of Colonel Smith in his 68th year by this suit. The Colonel made another trip up the James River as he had in 1760 to witness the will of John Bowen. This time it was for John Bowen, Jr., a brother of Rees. Joseph Looney was another witness and one of the executors was William Bowen, brother of the testator. However, the Colonel did not go to Staunton to prove the will when it was probated on 17 August.<sup>17</sup>

Again, in 1769, Colonel Smith served as witness to wills. This time it was for two of his important neighbors. On 25 June, he witnessed the last will of his friend and neighbor, Colonel John Buchanan, son-in-law of Smith's former land partner, Col. James Patton. Oddly enough, this will was not recorded until 23 February 1818, though it was admitted to probate and the executors gave proper security on 16 August 1769. On that same day in August, Colonel Smith, with his son Jonathan, and with George Skillern, was appointed an appraiser for estimating the worth of the property and goods of Colonel Buchanan on the James River. Other men were appointed to appraise the Colonel's belongings on Reed Creek and on New River.<sup>18</sup> The other will he witnessed was for his drunken old friend and neighbor, Robert Looney. This will, dated 19 September 1769, was not probated until 1770 and was so done in Botetourt County.<sup>19</sup> With these actions, we come to the end of the difficult years of the life of Colonel Smith. The remaining thirteen years of his life were spent in relative peace in the new county of Botetourt, struck off at the end of 1769.

### PART THREE The Final Years (1770-1783)

Only 1770, of the remaining years of Colonel Smith's life is amply documented. In that year, first of the new county, within whose borders Colonel Smith's home now lay, he is first heard of on 12 June 1770. On that date it was ordered that a group "view the several ways proposed for roads—by Mrs. Buchanan's (widow of Col. John), William Crow's (former Staunton merchant and now in business at Looney's Ferry), John Smith's and William Rowland's . . . on the north side of the river to the court house . . ."<sup>1</sup> On 14 August 1770, he journeyed to Fincastle, new county seat, to prove the will of Looney.<sup>2</sup> Then, almost immediately, on 16 August, he went to Staunton to record three chattel mortgage sales, two by him and one by his wife, Margaret. Why these are recorded in Augusta is not clear, but they may have been arranged prior to the formation of Botetourt and simply recorded later in Staunton. At any rate, on 16 August, Margaret, wife of John Smith for "£12 and divers good reasons" sold horses and crops to Samuel McCutcheon, Sr., while on the 17th John sold, for £3.10.10, cows to James and Samuel Clark, with William McCutcheon, Jr. as witness. Also on the 17th, Smith sold cows and horses for £27 to James Clark, Jr.<sup>3</sup> It may have been that this money was essential to meet the debt owed William English mentioned above. On 24 September 1770, Colonel Smith sold to his son, James, for £100, a tract of 100 acres on the south side of the James River.<sup>4</sup> This is the first mention of James Smith in the official records and would indicate that the probable date of his birth had been about 1750. In November, the Augusta County Court ruled on the suit, bill filed in May, 1767, concerning the Colonel's claim for payment from the group granted the 100,000 acres on the James and Roanoke Rivers in 1741.<sup>5</sup>

Colonel Smith appears in the records only twice in 1771 and not at all in 1772. At an unspecified time in 1771, he began the action against McCall and Company to recover the equity he had been swindled of by William Crow. This, already mentioned above, did not come to settlement until 1773.<sup>6</sup> On 14 August 1771 there is a duplication of the deed made to Malcolm Campbell for the 400 acres of land comprising the Big Lick, now the site of Roanoke City.<sup>7</sup> In May, 1773, his suit against McCall and Company was settled in Augusta Court.<sup>8</sup>



On 16 December 1773, he had the pleasure of receiving a warrant from Lord Dunsmore, last of the Virginia colonial governors, for 3,000 acres of land for having served "as a captain of the two new levies in Fincastle County."<sup>9</sup> On 15 March 1774, he assigned one thousand acres of this warrant to George Skillern, his signature witnessed by William Crow (his old enemy), Joseph Looney, and his son, James Smith. On 9 August, he assigned another thousand of this to James, his youngest child. His son, Jonathan, and his friend, George Skillern witnessed this.<sup>10</sup>

But the long life of Colonel Smith was winding down. On 15 February 1775, he was exempted from paying any levies (i. e. taxes) to the County for the future.<sup>11</sup> Before he wrote his will, however, he did one more service for his community. On 11 February 1778, John Smith, John Compton, and John Mills were ordered to "view the shore on William Anderson's side of James and report to the court the most convenient landing place for a ferry from Crow's land."<sup>12</sup> William Anderson had married the widow of Col. John Buchanan and lived at the Buchanan home on the north side of the river. As explained, William Crow had bought the old Looney homeplace and ran a ferry there.

Colonel Smith wrote his will on 26 April 1779. As might be expected, it is a vigorous, sensible, no foolishness instrument. Some of the provisions are unexpected, however. Except for providing for his wife, Margaret during the remainder of her life, he left everything to his son, James, the youngest child, including the final thousand acres of the Dunsmore warrant.<sup>13</sup> Though they lived nearby, Abraham, David and Jonathan, as well as equally distant Daniel and Louvisa were ignored. Though he wrote his will in early 1779, he did not die that year as some secondary writers have alleged. He made two court appearances in 1780, one on 9 March and the second on 13 April. The first was to ask that he be allowed the land warrant due his dead son, Joseph.<sup>14</sup> The last was to ask for the same thing for his own services.<sup>15</sup> At the time, he was 79!

On 19 October 1782, Andrew Boyd, a son-in-law of Col. Buchanan who lived near Col. Smith, wrote to William Preston about a suit of theirs and said in his letter that "Colonel John Smith would make a good witness for us, but he is a very ancient man."<sup>16</sup> This proves that Colonel Smith was alive near the end of October, 1782, but he had died by early 1783 for

his will was presented by George Skillern, the executor for probate on 13 March 1783. Since only one witness could then be found, it was not until 8 May that the will was accepted for probate by the court.<sup>17</sup>

Of the nine sons, three, as noted—Joseph, Patrick (if that were his name!), and John—were killed by the Indians in 1756. Daniel became prominent in Rockingham County and Abraham in his own county of Botetourt-Augusta. David was the least consequential of the nine and Jonathan merely better off financially than David. Henry disappears from the records before his father's death. Louvisa, as well known, married Rees Bowen and lived out her years at Maiden Spring in Tazewell County. James, the youngest, became a Captain in the Revolution serving with William Campbell on the expedition to the New River against the Tories in 1779 and being present at the surrender at Yorktown in 1781. Margaret survived her husband, but probably not for long, as she must have been very old at the time of his death in 1783.

## NOTES

### PART ONE

1. Aug. Co., Va. Order Book One, p. 350, 20 Nov. 1766, Plaintiff vs. Wm. Chandler, defendant: "The Plaintiff's attorney offered in Evidence the Deposition of John Smith which was objected to by the . . . defendant alledging that the said John Smith was able to attend in person, but the said objection was overruled by the Court they being of the opinion . . . that he (JOHN SMITH) is of the age of sixty-five years and lives at the distance of sixty miles from the court house that he is still able to attend in person but that it is unnecessary. . . ."
2. Orange County, Va., OB 2, 205, 26 June 1740
3. Aug. Co., Va. OB 1, p. 1, 9 December 1745
4. See note 2, *supra*; Howard M. Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring*, McClure, Va, 1954, p. 481, Draper Mss. 1 QQ 83; Journals of the House of Burgesses for 3 April 1758, the Memorial of John Smith.
5. Aug. Co. Court Judgments, Nov. 1770-A; Will of Col. James Patton, Aug. Co., Va. Will Book 2, pp. 131 ff.
6. Aug. Co., Va. Deed Book 2, p. 250
7. Original papers and petitions filed with the County Court of Augusta for year 1749
8. Aug. Co., Va. DB 7, 341, 343, DB20, 371; WB 2, 155
9. Mortgage dated 28 May 1748 in Aug. Co., Va. DB2, 50. Sale in Note 8 *supra*
10. Aug. Co., Va. DB 1, pp. 12, 102, and 120

11. Aug. Co. Court Judgments for dates indicated.
12. Suit finally brought in Aug. Co. Court Judgments of May, 1750 - A
13. Aug. Co., Va. DB 2, 505
14. Aug. Co., Court Judgments, September, 1747
15. Aug. Co., Va. DB8, 238
16. Aug. Co., Va. Survey Book One, p. 50-B
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-A and 66-B
18. Aug. Co., Va. DB 5, pp. 303 and 490
19. Ltr. Col. Edmond Pendleton to Wm. Preston, 1 Nov 1781, Draper Mss. 5 QQ 99
20. Aug. Co., Va. WB2, 155
21. Aug. Co., Va. DB6, 223
22. Aug. Co., Va. DB 5, 490
23. ACCJ (Aug. Co., Court Judgments), May, 1765-C, Looney vs. Looney; Original Papers and petitions filed with Aug. County Court, August, 1764-B

#### PART TWO SECTION A

1. Various letters from the Governor found in Volume II, "The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, 1715-1758," 2 vols., Va. Hist. Soc., R. A. Brock, *ed.*, Richmond 1883-1884. Letters are not listed separately since they are identified by date.
2. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 90
3. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 94; 96-123; 126-128
4. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 134-135
5. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 131-133
6. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 83 ff; Memorial of Captain John Smith in Journals of House of Burgesses, dated 3 April 1758
7. Aug. Co., Va. WB2, 42, WB3, 55, WB4, 94; Bot. Co., Va. Orders for 9 March 1780 as listed in Summers' *Annals*, pp. 309 and 313; Aug. Co., OB 11, 349; and Draper Mss. 1 QQ 83 ff.
8. Journals of the House of Burgesses, 3 April 1758 (p. 499 in printed version)
9. William Pitt the Elder, 1st Earl of Chatham (1708-1778), also known as "The Great Commoner," the father of Wm. Pitt the Younger, acted as Prime Minister in 1756-1758, though the actual post was held by the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire. Pitt's actual rank when seen by Col. Smith was Secretary of State. Though he did not receive the status officially until 1766, he acted as Prime Minister then.
10. John Campbell (1705-1782), 4th Earl of Loudon, was given command in America in 1756 and removed in December, 1757. Ray Allen Billington was the eminent historian who called him a "pompous wind-bag", an epithet more complimentary than that bestowed on the Earl by most.
11. See note 8, *supra* and Draper Mss. 1 QQ 83 ff. Sons were Patrick, John and Joseph.
12. Aug. Co., Va. OB 6, 223
13. Journals for the House of Burgesses for 4 April 1758
14. *Ibid.*, 12 April 1758 (P. 505 in printed version)

15. Journals for House of Burgesses for 1758, various entries
16. Journals for the House of Burgesses for 1757; Draper Mss. 6 QQ 140
17. Journal for the House of Burgesses for 1763
18. Aug. Co., Va. WB 3, 155
19. Aug. Co., Va. WB 2, 194
20. Aug. Co., Va. OB6, 51 and WB 2, 220
21. Aug. Co., Va. OB 5, 371; OB 6, 43 and 51
22. See Notes 8, 13, 14, and 15 in this section of the monograph
23. Notes 16, 8, 11 above
24. Aug. Co., Va. WB 3, 28
25. Aug. Co., Va. OB 6, 223
26. Aug. Co., Va. Vestry Book, pp. 186 and 233
27. Draper Mss. 2 QQ 20
28. Draper Mss. 3 QQ 138
29. Aug. Co., Va., DB 9, 238
30. Aug. Co., Va. Vestry Book, pp. 263, 264
31. Aug. Co., Va. WB 3, 24
32. Bot. Co., Va. OB for 10 March 1780
33. Various suits, ACCJ, October, 1765-B and D; November, 1766
34. Aug. Co., Va. OB 10, 350
35. ACCJ, John Hamilton vs. Co. John Smith, Aug., 1765
36. ACCJ, Kenny vs. Smith, November, 1762-A
37. Hening's Statutes, Vol. 7, pp. 489-493
38. Aug. Co., Va. DB 1, 357; DB 9, 277; WB 3, 24
39. Aug. Co., Va. DB 10, 405; DB 14, p. 100
40. ACCJ, Bingamin vs. Smith, May, 1763-B
41. Aug. Co., Va. DB 11, 149
42. Aug. Co., Va. DB 11, 42
43. Draper's *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, all editions, p. 406
44. Aug. Co., Va. Vestry Book, page 382
45. Bot. Co., Va., DB 2, 39

#### PART TWO, SECTION B

1. Aug. Co., Va., WB 3, 220
2. ACCJ for August, 1764, May, 1765-C; and Aug. 1764 - C and B
3. ACCJ for August, 1765
4. Aug. Co., Va., WB 3, 394
5. Draper Mss. 2 QQ 94
6. ACCJ, May, 1765-C, Looney vs. Looney
7. ACCJ, May, 1773-A, Col. John Smith vs. McCaul (sic) and Co., Chancery, 1771. Note that "McCaul & Co" is Alexander Mc Call & Co., merchants from eastern Va.
8. Aug. Co., Va. DB 12, 392
9. Aug. Co., Va. DB 14, 303; DB 15, 246
10. Chancery suit, Augusta Superior Chancery Court, Boyd vs. Matthews, OB 152, NS 53
11. See first note in this monograph; ACCJ, Ray vs. Chandler, Nov., 1766-B
12. Aug. Co., Va. DB 14, 229
13. Note 5, part one of monograph

14. Aug. Co., Va. DB 13, 493
15. See Note 39, part two, section A, above
16. ACCJ, Wm. Ingles vs. Smith, May, 1768
17. Aug. Co., Va. WB3, 136
18. Aug. Co., Va. WB 12, 375; WB 4, 233; OB 13, 322
19. Bot. Co., Va. WB1, p. 3

### PART THREE

1. Summers: *Annals of Southwest Virginia*, Kingsport, 1929, p. 85. This reference hereinafter given simply as "Annals" and will be used in lieu of the original Order or Will or Deed books for convenience of the reader. The printed volume being simply copied from the original and published.
2. Bot. Co., Va. WB A, p. 4
3. Aug. Co., Va. DB 16, pp. 438, 439, and 498, in that order as in the text.
4. Bot. Co., Va., DB 1, 190
5. See note 5 at beginning of monograph
6. See note 7, part two, section B, above
7. Annals, 543, and note 15 first part of monograph
8. Note 6 immediately above
9. Pp. 2-3, Warrants issued by Lord Dummore, bound in with Plat Book A, Montgomery Co., Va. (Really Fincastle) Also on Microfilm Reel 33, Mont. Co., Va. as issued by the Virginia State Archives in their counties series.
10. Same reference as previous note
11. Annals, 240
12. Annals, 266
13. Will Book A, p. 180, Botetourt County, Va.
14. Annals, 309
15. Annals, 314-315
16. Draper Mss. 5 QQ 111
17. Annals, 369 and 372

## History of Once-Important Mount Torry Furnace Traced

Published February 1, 1978 in The Waynesboro News-Virginian and reprinted with permission of the editor and author.

(Editor's Note: A suggestion to the Waynesboro Bicentennial and Historical Commission, of which the author is chairman, that the state should restore the Mount Torry Furnace supplied the incentive for the following article.)

*By George Hawke*

The ruins of a smelting furnace — said to have been an important source of charcoal iron during the Civil War — lie along the west side of Va. 664, about two-and-a-half miles south of the village of Sherando and the east-west Va. 610 — the former Howardsville Turnpike.

The furnace was named the Mount Torry Furnace, as a George Washington National Forest marker there today indicates.



Photo by Jerry Curtis—News-Virginian

It is located at the mouth of a valley drained by Back Creek, between Torry Ridge — for which it is named — and the Blue Ridge. It is also near the southern limit of the Shenandoah watershed.

It was built about the year 1800 to smelt iron ore taken from a system of pits and shafts centered in the gulf between Torry Ridge and Turkey Pen Ridge, just northwest of the furnace site.

Several sources substantiate the early date of construction.

Appendix II of Kathleen Bruce's "Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era" states that Torry was built about 1800 and rebuilt in 1853.

An article entitled "The Former Iron Industry of Augusta" (author unknown) states:

"The second iron furnace of importance in the county (after Mossy Creek, 1760) was Mount Torry . . . This furnace was built in 1804 and rebuilt in 1853. It was an important source of charcoal iron during the Civil War. In 1864 it employed 75 men."

The employee count is verified in the Tredegar Letter Book (manuscript) under the date of Dec. 17, 1864, which numbers 55 Negroes, 20 white men and 40 animals as a basis for food supplies (i.e., four pecks of corn monthly for each laborer, and eight pounds of corn and eight pounds of long forage (hay) daily for each animal.

The Waynesboro Weekly Tribune of July 31, 1878, contained a cautiously worded item about the Mount Torry Furnace:

" . . . We are not now prepared to say at what precise time the (Mount Torry) Furnace was erected, or by whom, but we will refer to it again when we have descended South River to what was the Belvidere Forge, erected by Cumberland Williams of the city of Baltimore, in perhaps the first decade of this century.

"We have reason to believe that he erected the Mount Torry Furnace, inasmuch as he carried the metal from there to the Belvidere Forge and manufactured it into bar iron. . . .

"The ridges of the Blue Ridge for a considerable (distance) above and below the furnace abound in a very good article of hematite ore, and the recent discovery of specular ore adds to the value of both.

"The mountains abound in timber, so the supply of charcoal is comparatively unlimited. The heaviest drawback is the distance to the railroad — 11 miles to Waynesboro."

The drawback was removed about 20 years later when a spur line was constructed from the Norfolk and Western railroad just west of Lipscomb to Torry Furnace by way of the Kennedy Mine.

During the Civil War the Torry Furnace comprised one unit in a vast network of furnaces from which the great Tredegar works in Richmond drew iron. Based on the number of workmen, Torry was the largest Virginia furnace west of the Blue Ridge. And, it was the South's misfortune that in June 1864 northern forces destroyed this important smelter.

David Hunter, the Union general commanding the Department of West Virginia, sent a strong force south to proceed through the gaps of the Blue Ridge, take Lynchburg and destroy the Orange and Alexandria, and the Southside railroads.

By the first week in June, Hunter had occupied Staunton, as noted in a dispatch from Gen. U. S. Grant to Gen. H. W. Halleck, chief of staff:

"Richmond papers of this morning (June 11, 1864) announce the junction of (Union forces under Gen. George) Crook and (Gen. William W.) Averell with Hunter, at Staunton on the 8th instant. A portion of their forces are on the Greenville and Middlebrook road.

"Five hundred cavalry made a demonstration on Waynesborough, and were repulsed by (Brig.-Gen. John) Imboden; on the 9th (they) advanced again, but were driven back, burning up the railroad as they retired."

During the long, warm afternoon of June 10, a strong column of Union cavalry under Brig.-Gen. A. N. Duffie was proceeding southward along Back Creek looking for the gap across the ridge to the headwaters of the Tye River.

Rather unexpectedly, the column came upon the Torry Furnace complex. Duffie ordered the furnace burned and all machinery broken up.

Food and forage supplies were also destroyed before the Union cavalrymen continued up the valley to bivouac for the night.

Duffie's report to the department the next day described the action:

"I sent you a dispatch last night when encamped nine miles from here. I then thought it only two miles to this gap. This morning I waited for the return of the party for some time, and

then moved to this point (Tye River Gap), where I have just arrived. The enemy's scouts were in my rear this morning.

"I destroyed an iron furnace, owned by the rebel Government, last night. I have sent (a force) forward down Tye River to capture a wagon train of the enemy, which passed near here this morning. I am awaiting your orders as to my next movement."

When Duffie was ordered to continue toward Lynchburg, Confederate forces under Imboden closed in behind the Yankees. In following Duffie, Imboden reached the smouldering furnace from the north. His 8 a.m., June 11 dispatch to Maj.-Gen. John C. Breckenridge gives this view of the situation:

"The enemy's cavalry (one brigade, 2,000 strong, and a battery) burnt this furnace last night, and camped in the gorge above. Attack, except upon his rear guard, was impossible.

"He is now moving over an almost impracticable road from this furnace to the head of Back Creek, and thence to the head of Tye River. He is making for the railroad between Lynchburg and Charlottesville.

"I am cutting out the blockade at Howardsville Gap, and will be across the mountain by 3 p.m. I have sent messengers to the people on Rockfish and Tye rivers to blockade the roads in front of the enemy tonight, and inform me on what road he moves.

"If McCausland fell back to Tye River Gap last night, he, too, will get in front of this detachment . . . The enemy will be much jaded by climbing over the mountain today.

"We had a skirmish with his rear, and captured several Yankees and negroes this morning. Col. O'Ferrall is still harassing him."

But road blockades and Confederate harassment did not stop Duffie, who destroyed Cloverdale Furnace four days later (June 14), and Grace Furnace on June 19.

However, as the Union columns converged on Lynchburg, increasing numbers of Confederates behind them and an entrenched force of defenders stopped them short of their main goal.

Arriving from Richmond with additional Confederate forces, Gen. Jubal A. Early and others caused the Federals to retreat and move northwestward across the Shenandoah Valley into West Virginia.

The war was not over, nor the Southern spirit broken.

By Jan. 10, 1865 both the Cloverdale and Mount Torry furnaces were rebuilt and ready for operation, except for setting up the parts of the machinery manufactured at the Tredegar shops in Richmond.

J. R. Anderson, owner and ironmaster of the blast furnaces serving the Tredegar foundry, equipped the rebuilt blast furnaces with iron cylinders, instead of the wooden ones originally used.

The iron cylinders at Torry increased the furnace capacity, making possible blasts of 1,500 tons, instead of 1,200 as formerly.

Although the Civil War period may have brought its most exciting hours, Torry Furnace and mines continued to operate quietly into the early 20th Century.

The mines outlasted the furnace, and The Waynesboro Weekly Tribune of May 23, 1919, carried an account of a man being killed at Torry Furnace.

"James W. Harris, a miner employed in the Mount Torry Mines above Sherando, was killed in a cave-in in the mines Friday evening last. He was at work in an entrance to the mines when an immense amount of earth and stone, loosened by the late rains, fell in upon him, crushing his body, broke both legs and otherwise so seriously injured him that he died within an hour of the accident . . . He resided with his family near Lipscomb."

Mr. Harris may have been the last mining fatality in the area. Declining ore quality and outside competition accomplished what the Union army could not.

One by one the valley furnaces winked out, and trees recovered the open mine pits.

## PAUL HENKEL AT STAUNTON

By WILLIAM E. EISENBERG

Paul Henkel, foremost Lutheran itinerant missionary of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, lived for three years at Staunton.

Born in North Carolina in 1754, Henkel grew up in the mountains of Pendleton County, W. Va. From the early days of his ministry in 1783, until his death in 1825, he lived most of his years in the Shenandoah Valley, with his chief residence and base of operations at New Market. Minor residencies, however, occurred elsewhere, as at Staunton, in Rowan County, N. C., and at Point Pleasant, W. Va.

A reconnoitering trip to Augusta County and Staunton was made by Henkel and his wife in the spring of 1794. They moved their family to Staunton that fall, arriving October 8, and they were residents of the town until October 1797.

The Reverend Doctor William J. Fincke, New Market, in the years 1935 to 1937 selected, translated, edited and compiled from journals, letters, minutes of synods, conferences, etc., A CHRONOLOGICAL LIFE OF PAUL HENKEL. Typed copies of this work were bound in a limited edition, a volume of which constitutes the principal source material for the ensuing article.

Paul Henkel and his wife, Elizabeth Negley (1757-1843), had married in 1776. Their family was to consist of six sons and three daughters. When they arrived in Staunton its size was four sons and two daughters. Solomon, eldest child, was nearing his seventeenth birthday, while the second child, Philip, was fifteen. Then followed Naomi (12), Ambrose (8), Sabina (6), and Andrew (soon to be 4).

Solomon already had studied Latin and Greek under a tutor, Peter Weber; and in 1793 had begun his training as a pharmacist, residing for six months at Philadelphia in the home of Dr. David Jackson, Sr., working and studying in that doctor's apothecary shop. When the severe yellow fever epidemic of that summer forced the Jacksons to retreat from the city, Solomon was left in charge of the shop, where he and it did well. A month after the family came to Staunton, Solomon travelled the three hundred miles to Philadelphia to purchase medicines and drugs. He got back to Staunton two days before Christmas.

The Henkel family on their Staunton arrival lived first in a rented house. We are not informed of its location, simply that

the rent was high, and that the landlord would not rent it except for a year at a time. Paul Henkel soon determined to buy a lot and build a house of his own. In the spring of 1795 he bought a lot on Water Street. He gave for it "a small mare and a small sum of money in cash, which was provided by friends." The site was at the northeast corner of Central Avenue and Frederick Street. Solomon and Philip, encouraged by their father, drew up plans for a structure thirty feet long and twenty-four feet wide. They went to work with a will.

A small Lutheran congregation had been organized in Staunton by Adolph Spindler, whose ministry had begun at St. John's Church, Middlebrook, then a union Reformed-Lutheran congregation. Paul Henkel settled in the town in order to care for this little flock and to tend three other groups of German Lutherans in the county. These were situated on South River, north of Waynesboro; in the area bounded by Churchville on the south and Mt. Solon on the north; and in the hills west of Mt. Sidney centering at the Big Spring (Seawright Spring). Trinity Church, Crimora; St. Peter's Church, Churchville; and Salem Church, Mt. Sidney, are the principal residual legatees of Henkel's services. Emmanuel Church at Mt. Solon, with extant German records from 1801-1844, gave place to Emmanuel Church of the Brethren, and to St. Paul's Lutheran Church, begun in 1838. The congregation in the town, after Henkel's departure, soon faded and folded. It would appear that Henkel himself did not entertain much promise for it; for he wrote: "I soon found that I had need, like Paul at Corinth, to prosecute my work in this place with fear and much trembling. Though there were a few honorable Germans there, I soon discovered that they had no desire to teach their children their native tongue. I was asked several times to preach English, but I soon found out it was labor lost, on account of the evil prejudice with which the high-minded people were affected, and for that reason I soon gave it up." He is referring to Germans who insisted on worshiping in the tongue understandable to themselves, who at the same time discouraged the use of English, the only language their children could understand.

Complexities and difficulties soon took command in the Henkel household. Room had to be provided for David, the seventh child, who was born May 4, 1795. The meager income from the congregations could not take care of high rent and heavy running expenses. Borrowed money could not be repaid. Paul



Henkel himself fell ill with fever, which he believed he contracted when visiting the sick in Pendleton. After preaching on Whitsunday, May 15, he took his bed four weeks unable to stand on his feet. Prematurely up for three weeks, he had to go back to bed again until the middle of September. When he recovered from this siege, several of the children came down with the same illness. Progress of construction on the new house slowed to a standstill.

A quaint solution was found to the rent problem. Slabs were obtained at a sawmill and a cabin was put together in short order close to the unfinished home. In it the family lived contentedly until the middle of November. Then they moved into their new quarters.

Such trials, however, had their mitigating circumstances. Solomon set himself up as an apothecary and was able to earn something from the sale of the medicaments bought in Philadelphia. His father records: "Our oldest son was a great help. He kept a small apothecary shop, which brought him a small daily income; he kept all accounts, looked after everything connected with the building of our house, and worked with all his powers .....After giving medicines to a number upon my directions with much success, he must fill the place of doctor, and he soon had a large patronage."

Then Paul Henkel adds: "In addition to this good fortune it became my duty to marry one or more couples each week, even though at times I was too sick either to stand or sit. In this way the necessities of the household were provided, and we experienced both the mercy and the chastening of the Lord."

Furthermore, Paul's brother Moses came from Pendleton to visit in October. He generously advanced enough money for Paul to pay his debts and to complete the building of his home.

Moses Henkel had prospered as a miller and a surveyor. He later became a minister of prominence within the Methodist Church. At the time of his visit to Staunton, he had come to attend the meeting of the Special Virginia Conference of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, representing his congregation on the Potomac's South Branch.

Home missionary Paul Henkel never forgot the wider work to which he was called. He had been licensed by the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1783, and ordained in 1792 as a travelling pastor to congregations. Residing in Virginia, he shared in organizing the Special Conference at Winchester in 1793, and he

was required to attend its meetings, as well as the annual conventions of the Ministerium. For these reasons his Staunton years witnessed a number of journeys elsewhere.

The meeting of the Conference took place October 5, 1795. Conference president Christian Streit from Winchester presided. The secretary was Victor George Charles Stock, a ministerial candidate supplying Peaked Mountain Church, McGaheysville. Adolph Spindler, then a ministerial candidate, also, was guest preacher. William Carpenter from Madison County and Paul Henkel completed the roster of five clergy in attendance. With them to receive Holy Communion were ten laymen and four laywomen. They were: Moses Henkel, Louis Schmit, Henry Herman, Daniel Scharf, Philip Scholl and wife, John Berot and wife, Casper Koiner, John Roller, John Foltz, John Nehs, Mary Hettebach, and Catherine Brendel. It is not recorded in what specific place in Staunton this little group met. The local congregation owned no property and had no house of worship.

Of the lay persons present Schmit and Herman came from Churchville—Mt. Solon neighborhoods. Casper Koiner lived north of Waynesboro. Roller and Nehs were from the Rader's Church—Solomon's Church—New Market areas of Rockingham and Shenandoah counties, and John Foltz came from Zion Church near Edinburg. It is possible that the congregation in the town was represented by one or more of the unaccounted-for persons.

The year 1796 for the Henkel family proved to be relatively normal without disturbing incidents. Solomon pursued further his study of pharmacy, this time under John Peter Ahl at Keezletown. Ahl had promoted himself as a man of many professions. For a few years during the 1790's he carried on as minister at Peaked Mountain and at Friedens congregations in Rockingham, and at the same time he practiced medicine, dabbled in real estate, ran an apothecary shop, and took students into his home to instruct them in pharmacology and medicine. Paul Henkel contracted to have his son Solomon enter upon a six-month apprenticeship. Solomon withdrew, however, after three months on March 23. That summer he labored in a stone quarry blasting rock.

Staunton experienced a smallpox epidemic early in the year 1797. Elizabeth Henkel and her seven children were stricken. Solomon and his sister Naomi were "very grievously ill." Local doctors had their hands more than full. Paul



Henkel assisted among the sick "in cases of inoculation." For two months he was unable to carry out his ministerial duties. He wrote: "In this time I nearly lost the name of preacher and assumed that of doctor." A peripheral benefit accrued, notwithstanding. "There was considerable income as a consequence, which enabled me to care for my household. Thus Providence always provides."

Henkel had planned to go to Fort Pitt that summer. With Henry Diefenbach, ministerial student of the Reformed Church, as a travelling companion, they got as far as Pendleton County. There Paul's horse went lame, and Henry hurt himself in a fall. The two determined to go no further. Henkel returned to Staunton and made a missionary journey across the Blue Ridge into "Old" Virginia. He did not attend the Ministerium's meeting at Baltimore.

Returning once more to Staunton, consideration by a family council was given to the economic advantages their former New Market home held out to them, for there they could raise their own food, and also the advantages of its location for Paul's work in the Church. Since it was "a heavy burden to provide all the necessities of life at the high cost of living prevailing at the time and place," decision was made to move back to New Market at the first opportunity, a decision that was put into effect in October.

Three friends from New Market, John Nehs, Jacob Zerfass, and John Zerkel, came with two large wagons and cared for everything. Their entrance into their former home was made on October 17.

Henkel's records tell of the travels he made from his Staunton residence. No sooner had he arrived in town in '94 than he had to set out for Martinsburg to attend Conference (October 12-13). Before his case of fever in the spring of '95, he had been to Pendleton, and after the Staunton meeting of Conference he was off to Lewisburg and Greenbrier County. The fever, however, had caused him to miss the meeting of the Ministerium at Philadelphia. On November 15 he participated in the dedication of Solomon's Church, Forestville.

May 22-24, 1796, Henkel attended the meeting of the Ministerium at York, Pennsylvania, while in October he was in Madison County attending Conference. Some time during the year he journeyed to Albemarle County and beyond. The spring and summer of 1797 have been accounted for already.

While Paul Henkel and Solomon, his son, did not sojourn long at Staunton, a few of their descendants, several generations removed, became well known citizens of the town. I mention Haller Hypocrates Henkel, M.D., eleventh child of Samuel Godfrey Henkel and his wife, Susan Koiner, daughter of Casper Koiner. Samuel Godfrey Henkel was the fourth child of Solomon and his wife, Rebecca Miller of Winchester. Dr. H. H. Henkel was the father of Mrs. William Wilson Timberlake.

I mention Samuel Godfrey Henkel, M.D., nephew of the above, who married Elizabeth Worthington. His father was Abram Miller Henkel, seventh child of Solomon and Rebecca.

I mention Frederick Lewis Henkel, D.D.S., (1854-1904), whose office was on the north side of Frederick Street in one of the middle buildings of the block between Central and Augusta. He was the fourth child of Solon Paul Charles Henkel and his wife, Anna Maria Miller, Winchester, his father being the ninth child of the eleven children of Solomon and Rebecca.

I mention Reuben Walton Moore, son of Josephine Augusta Henkel and Newton Gordon Moore, whose mother was the sister of Dr. Fred Henkel.

Other descendants are to be found in Augusta County, particularly in the Waynesboro community.

## IN MEMORIAM

Mr. Joseph Smith Cochran, Junior

Mrs. John W. Hoover

Mrs. E. Lewis Knowles

## Contributed by Mrs. Houston I. Todd

May 29. 61

My Daughter

We have been fighting fire since about 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  Oclock in the upper end of Waynesbr the fire commend in Dick Terrells house and burnt all on that Side of the Street — and Went over and burnt all on the otherside of the Street up to Ro. Terrells, in all about 8 Buildings includg Stubbs. We Were greatly alarmed for fear of this end of the Town, but now all is Safe and a Watch at the upper end, the fire Started at Dick Terrells chimney

Your two Mares Were found in the Road Near my field this Morning about 8 Oc the Sorrel had her Colt in the big Road. Its Very Small and Poor. I put both in Clover Kne high the Colt will not be able to travel for a Week. I have no Conv. will Send for you as soon as I can heard today they had a Battle at Herper Ferry, and one near Norfolk the one at Norfolk, Lincoln Lost 700 men and the South one Hundred. I doubt the Correctness of the Dispatch

Your Papa

(Reverse side, another handwriting.)

June the 16, 1861. They are wise to do [no] evil But to do good. They have no Knowledge Fret not Thy self in any wise of evil doers neither Bee thou envyouss against workers of innquity for Thy shall soon Bee cut down as the grass that withereth And the place there off shall Know them no longer. They shoot out their tongs like arrows. & Jo Aber(?)

(In still another handwriting, across the above.)

Mrs. H. M. Irvine

Inherited by Mr. and Mrs. Houston I. Todd from A Wayt Irvine, great-uncle of Mr. Todd. Mr. Irvine was the son of James Estill and Hannah Moffett King Irvine. This letter was written to Hannah by her father, William Wayt King.

Twentieth of a Series

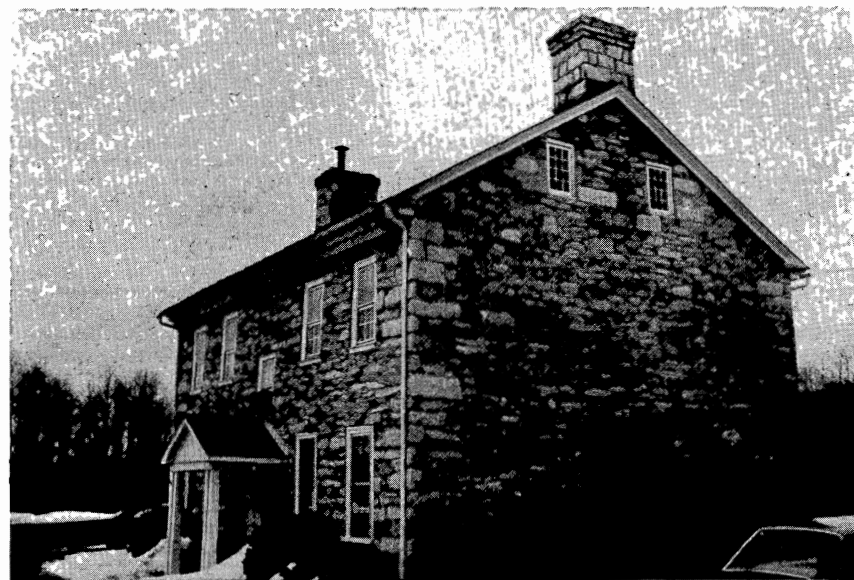
## OLD HOMES OF AUGUSTA COUNTY

“The Hessian House Motel”  
(I-81 Exit No. 55 — U. S. 11 and 340)

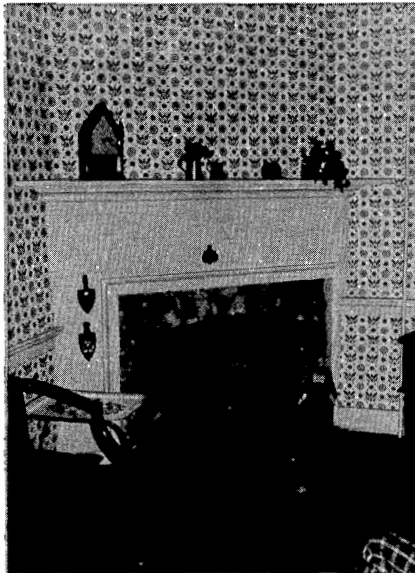
By Gladys B. Clem

When John Shields of Botetourt County, Virginia, purchased 70 acres, “more or less,” on Christians Creek, from Thomas Shields March 15, 1774, the acreage has remained the same to the present ownership of the Hessian House Corporation.

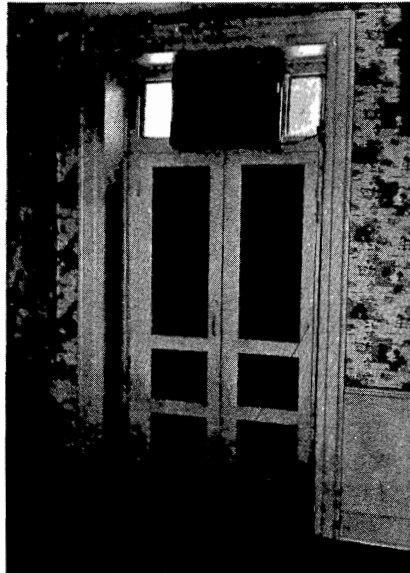
Events indicate the stone dwelling was built during John Shields' ownership, following the Battle of Saratoga in 1777. Hessian mercenaries—some of the 20,000 hired by King George to fight for him—were taken prisoner and brought to Virginia for safekeeping. Some were sent to Albemarle, some to Winchester and some to Staunton. They remained in these locations for some years as prisoners in the custody of their American captors.



The Hessian House  
Photography by Frank G. Bushman



Unchanged fireplace built in angle of room showing detail of stone construction.



The back entrance of the Hessian House is little changed.

Homesick, fighting a war in which they had no interest, unable to speak or understand the language, these men had no easy time of it. Stephen Popp, one of them, took time to keep a journal. "We were taken to a wretched cabin of logs in a deep forest outside of Ft. Frederick Barracks (near Winchester)," he wrote, "it was chinked with clay, loose in many places, nowhere were we protected from rain and snow. An open fire soon filled the cabin with smoke. We were issued meal and sometimes a bit of fat pork." As they were allowed to come and go at will many sought work from the nearby farmers. From them they borrowed shovels, axes and hatchets with which they improved their makeshift shelter. Those employed by the local landowners of the community were grateful for the good square meal they received in payment.

The arrival of these prisoners was both timely and fortunate for those property owners able and desirous of building a fine house.

Probably Peter Hanger, also a German, was among the first, locally, to avail himself of these skilled workmen, for many of them excelled in wood carving, stone laying and metal

work. As owner of Spring Farm, (now Gypsy Hill Park) he had them build his substantial stone dwelling on the present site of the Garden Center. For long over a century it stood as an example of these Hessian prisoners' handiwork.

Dotted here and there throughout the county other well heeled farmers followed Hanger's precedent and employed these men in building their homes.

Most of them followed a similar design, their box-like appearance differing but little. Usually they consisted of two rooms on the first floor, two on the second and an over all basement (where most of the living took place) and a large attic. The walls were usually of two or three feet thickness of native limestone, with deep embrasured windows that were both high and narrow. Hessian built chimneys were constructed *inside* the house walls, (the English built theirs outside) and as a sort of pre-heat conservation measure the fireplaces were placed across the corner of the room and thus one chimney could serve two or more rooms.

Events indicate that John Shields lost no time in securing these men to build his home that has been known through



Fireplace showing large oak mantel beam inset in chimney. Iron hinges taken from original front door.

the years as "Hessian House." Few exterior changes have been made in its two centuries of existence.

With characteristic German resourcefulness, these workmen used the material at hand. Limestone for the walls came from outcroppings in the nearby fields, plaster was made with sand from the creek bank, ground limestone and animal hair. The nearby woods supplied the cherry, walnut and oak lumber used.

Office and reception room of Hessian House, whose decor is in keeping with the colonial period, occupies the first floor, the second being used as the resident managers' apartment, Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Gordon.

The stairway, with its original stair railing and hand carved bannisters, is lighted by a small window let into the front wall, an unusual feature in Hessian built homes. Windows of equal dimension are in either end of the attic. The flooring is random width and its hand made nails indicate its age.

The wide front door is original, is of double thickness, being made of two different woods. The hand made lock is a fine example of the forger's skill and is still in use. The back door has the same square fanlight and doorway as used by the several generations of the Shields family while living there.

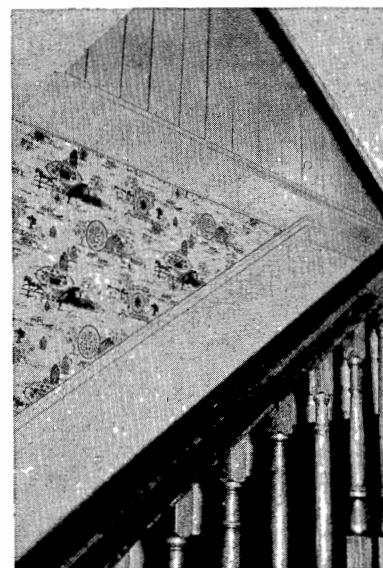
The large fireplace, whose stones had softened through the years, had to be rebuilt. Retained was the huge oak log, measuring some eighteen inches in thickness, which must have served originally as a mantel shelf, was incorporated between the stones. It forms a background for the pair of wide hinges that originally were on the front door. The smaller chimney, in an adjoining room, is built "Cross cornered" and is still in constant use, unchanged since the day some Hessian workman so carefully placed the shaped stones to form a perfect arch.

The property remained in the Shields family until August of 1810, when William Shields' widow, Agnes, disposed of it to George Crobarger. At the time of the sale a "merchant mill," powered by Christians Creek, is mentioned in the deed. Various owners were in possession of the property until April 20, 1922, when J. A. and L. A. Ruble purchased from J. A. Painter. In turn the Rubles sold the estate to the late Jack Hatcher, October of 1945. In 1965 Mrs. Hatcher sold the estate to the "Hessian House Corporation," the present owners.

When the motel area was built the owners wisely kept the new construction separate from the original stone structure. Its Hessian builders would have liked that.

And what of the Hessians themselves? Following the surrender at Yorktown in 1781 most of them returned to England and eventually to their homes in Germany. But for some romance was stronger than the call of the homeland. They were the ones who married American girls and raised families whose descendants today are proud of their German ancestry.

In 1976, The Augusta County Bicentennial Commission placed a marker at the Hessian House.



Original stairway and panelling detail leading to second floor.

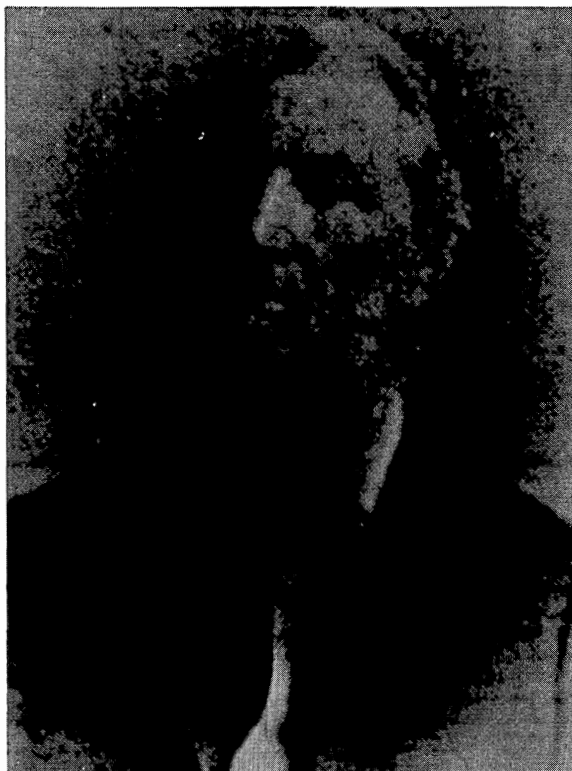
## Vandalism by General Hunter, 1864

Contributed By  
Mrs. Joseph H. Taylor  
of Keyser, West Virginia  
Great Granddaughter of Richard Mauzy

### GEN. HUNTER'S EXPLOITS IN STAUNTON RECALLED

Mr. Richard Mauzy, Formerly Owner and Editor of the  
Spectator, Describes the Ruthless Destruction of His Property

Mr. Richard Mauzy, from his retirement in Rockingham  
county, has written a most interesting account of the destruction  
of the Spectator office under an order from Gen. David Hunter



*Richard Mauzy*

of the federal army in June 1864. It is addressed to his friend  
Mr. Newton Argenbright, and reads as follows:

McGaheysville, Va., May 13, 1907.

Newton Argenbright, Esq., clerk of  
corporation court of Staunton.

Dear "Newt.:"

In addressing you as "Newt.," I have "no reference to an  
allusion" to one of the incongruous constituents of the hell-broth  
in the witches' caldron in Macbeth—"eye of newt and toe of  
frog, wool of bat and tongue of dog," etc.—but because you  
were thus familiarly called by your friends and associates and  
myself before you had attained the patriarchal dignity of grand-  
pa.

In compliance with your request to write you about some  
of the occurrences in Staunton during my long residence there,  
I will now tell you about the destruction of the material of the  
Spectator Office by the order of Gen. David Hunter of the federal  
army, as you as well as myself were interested in that occur-  
rence, and as it is so indelibly photographed on the plate of  
my memory that I can report the circumstances as correctly  
as if they had occurred yesterday.

The day after the battle of Piedmont in Augusta county  
in June 1864, in which the small force of confederates under  
the command of Gen. Wm. E. Jones was defeated by the over-  
whelming number under command of Gen. David Hunter,  
Rev. Wm. G. Campbell, venerable Presbyterian minister, and  
myself, were sitting on the steps of the Spectator office in the  
old stone building on South Augusta street, when two members  
of Gen. Hunter's staff came there and inquired if they could  
have some printing done saying they would pay for it. I told  
them that I was not prepared to do any printing, as I had no  
printers there. They asked where my printers were, when I  
replied that the last I knew of them they were in the battle of  
Piedmont. They said they had printers; and then we entered  
the office. In the meantime my venerable friend, like the Arab  
"stole gently away."

They did not want any printing done, that was a mere  
pretense. They wanted to inspect the office. I invited them in,  
and accompanied them up stairs.

Seeing that nothing had been removed, one of them re-  
marked, "you were not expecting us?" "No," I replied, "I was  
not expecting you, but Gen. Crook, who I did not believe, would

destroy the office, that nothing has been removed but the sign, and that because I feared some soldiers, seeing it was a printing office might without authority destroy it." They repelled the idea that they would destroy the office; whereupon I told them that I had heard that they had destroyed a printing office, in Harrisonburg, and hence supposed that they might do so here. They said that was done without authority and that they disapproved of it, and that they would give me protection.

Then, looking from the second story into the background, they asked me if it were necessary to have a guard in that yard, when I said, "No." Then they asked if a guard at the front door would be sufficient, when I replied, "yes."

Then occurred some talk about the confederate commissioners—Mason and Slidell—who had been captured by a federal naval officer whilst aboard a British vessel, and imprisoned at Fort Warren near Boston, but, on the imperative demand of the British government, were released. As, at that time, "Johnnie Reb" was giving "Uncle Sam" some trouble, he, like the philosophic Falstaff, wisely concluded that "discretion was the better part of valor."

In 1861, Hon. John Slidell of Louisiana, was appointed confederate commissioner to France, and Hon. John Y. Mason, of Virginia, to England. They ran the blockade to Havana, Cuba, whence they sailed on the British mail steamer, Trent which was boarded Nov. 8th, by Capt. Wilkes of the U. S. Steamer San Jacinto, who arrested both of these commissioners.

When we got down stairs, one of them—Gen. Chas. G. Halpine I think it was—said, "If you will furnish me some paper and ink, I will write you a note of protection."

When I opened the desk and took out the paper, he asked "where do you get such paper?" I replied "we sometimes capture some very nice articles."

He then wrote a note of protection and gave it to me, and then wrote a duplicate for the provost marshal. Just as he finished writing the letter, the Provost Marshal, Capt. Bailey, came into the office, when Gen. Halpine said, "Captain, I have just written a note to be sent to you for the protection of this property." The two members of Gen. Hunter's staff then left—one being Gen. Charles G. Halpine, and the other, I suppose, was David Hunter Strother—both being literary men, the *nom de plume* of the former being "Miles O'Reilly," and that of the latter "Porte Crayon."

Seeing a soldier passing the office, Capt. Bailey hailed him, and told him to remain there to protect that property.

Then Capt. Bailey drew from his pocket a map and some letters stained with blood, which he had taken from the body of Gen. Wm. E. Jones who was killed in the battle of Piedmont. The map, I told him was one which Maj. Jed Hotchkiss had lately made, and which he had shown to me but a few days before. The letters were from Gen. Bragg to Gen. Jones. Up to this time "all seemed lovely, and the goose honked high." With protection in my vest pocket, voluntarily given, I felt quite comfortable. But, alas, how very soon the brightest hopes may be blasted. I will not stop to moralize, but will continue the dry-as-dust narration.

When I went to the office the next morning, the guard was about mounting his horse. In reply to my question, he said "he was about to leave, the command ordered to move, he did not know where." I then took a seat on the cellar door at the office, awaiting events.

After a short while there came, tramp, tramp, about twenty rough-looking soldiers, who halted at the office and proceeded to enter, when I asked them what they wanted. They said they wanted to enter; when I told them I had the key, and at the same time showed the leader the protection given me. He glanced at it casually, and in a rough tone remarked:

"I have different orders from that, sir." and in they rushed on their mission of destruction.

I followed them in, and pointing to the old Alligator job-press in the front room, said—"that is a job press, I suppose you will not destroy that." They replied that they had printers with them who knew it to be a job-press. They passed that by, and entered the next room in which was the newspaper power press, on which my heart was set, and with bludgeons proceeded to utterly demolish it. I remained among them till I saw that press broken into fragments. I then left them to do their utmost, and went to Mr. Charley Cochran's tobacco store on West New street south of Main or Beverley. Whilst sitting with him, four or five federal soldiers rushed in and helped themselves, hurriedly, to pipes, tobacco, etc, and had not the politeness to thank him; and Charley, "like the boy the calf ran over, had nothing to say," his feelings being inexpressible.

After remaining there a while, I returned to the Spectator office, where I found that not only the newspaper press, but



also the job-press, and everything in the office that could be, was destroyed. They even tore to pieces the blank newspaper, cases and type, etc., were thrown into the street to be run over by wagons, and you remember the bushels of printers pi lying on the floor, on which you and others were engaged for months in bringing order out of chaos. In the office were the printing material of three different newspapers—Republican, True American, and Spectator—all of which were destroyed or converted into pi. Whilst you and others worked on that huge pile of pi, how you wished it were pastry pie instead of printers' pi—how you longed for pie and detested pi—prayed for pie with an e.

My account books and lists of subscribers were not destroyed, as I had entrusted them for safekeeping to an honest and faithful colored man, Wright Bolen, and then I was able to "resume business at the old stand" "after the cruel war was over."

That the office should be destroyed notwithstanding I had been voluntarily given what purported to be a note of protection, I could not understand.

Afterward, I saw Gen. Halpine on the street, and felt impelled to go to him and ask for an explanation of what had the appearance of useless as well as base treachery. I did not do so because I felt at the time that it was an act of consummate treachery. That I did not do so, I have since regretted, for I learned, a few years after, that Gen. Halpine was opposed to the unwise, oppressive, and opprobrious federal legislation regarding the south, showing that he was either a conservative republican, or, what is more probable, a democrat as most Irishmen are, and all ought to be.

When I learned this, I felt sure that he had acted in good faith, and that his orders were overruled by Gen. Hunter, whose conduct during the war shows that he delighted in destroying the property of southern people.

Mrs. H. B. Lee, whose fine residence (Bedford) and other buildings of hers, Gen. Hunter ruthlessly destroyed near Shepherdstown on July 19th, 1863, has embalmed his name in immortal infamy by an eloquent and indignant letter written the day following that cruel and heartless deed.

Now, "Newt," I suppose the length of this letter will make you regret that you were so unwise as to request me to write you of some of the occurrences in Staunton during my long

residence there. Unlike Oliver Twist, I am sure you will not "ask for more."

I owe you an apology for inflicting such a long letter on you, and promise not to do so again.

Hoping you and Heiskell are well and doing well, with best wishes and highest esteem, I am truly,

Your friend,

RICHARD MAUZY.